Caranga-
Chipaya

/200 cont./

#17 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
17 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
30 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
530 tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

#17 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
17 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
14 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
30 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
305 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

#17 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
30 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anapaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, bolas poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening bolas lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara*: the open-ended flutes (palawata, kena, pusipis, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, kenkis, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, sikuchukllo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian choio huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kana, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Jaca anansaya*), and xanacha (*Jaca mana-saya*). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1961
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whereas the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymara traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protectile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Lasther *wankaki*, *kaka* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southwest of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into gowns. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Ericksberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.*

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "tupus" (Uru *tenkala* [cf. the term for penis, *tini* ("eggs") *tkalel*] used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *kalpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ophvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*hapaka*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*hayle* or *'kayi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

* Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.